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DEF: 09-0003

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 SARAJEVO 002528

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/21/06
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, BK
SUBJECT: BUHA AND KRAJISNIK: DOWN WITH KARADZIC,
- DOWN WITH DAYTON

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY JOHN K. MENZIES, AMBASSADOR,
PER 1.5 (D).

2. (C) SUMMARY: BUHA AND KRAJISNIK TOLD US IN PALE
JULY 22 THAT THE GORS WILL UPHOLD COMMITMENTS MADE
IN BELGRADE WITH THE HOLBROOKE DELEGATION CONCERNING
THE REMOVAL OF KARADZIC FROM PUBLIC LIFE AND OFFICE..
BUHA AND KRAJISNIK TOLD US THAT AGREEMENTS REACHED
WITH HOLBROOKE LED THEM TO BELIEVE THAT THE WAR
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CRIMES TRIBUNAL WOULD CONTINUE TO EXIST THROUGH THE
SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS, AND WOULD THEN 'VANISH'. THEY
SPOKE OF GORS CONFUSION AS TO THE APPROPRIATE
INTERLOCUTOR IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON THE
DAYTON ACCORDS. COMMENT: KRAJISNIK WAS UNUSUALLY
COMBATIVE AND MORE CONFRONTATIONAL THAN WE HAVE EVER
SEEN HIM. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

3. (C) AMBASSADOR, DCM, AND POLOFF MET WITH RS
ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MOMCILO KRAJISNIK AND GORS

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MINISTER ALEKSA BUHA IN PALE JULY 22. AMBASSADOR REPORTED TO KRAJISNIK AND BUHA THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH HOLBROOKE JULY 21, AND THAT HOLBROOKE HAD REPORTED TO WASHINGTON ON THE WRITTEN AND ORAL AGREEMENTS REACHED WITH GORS REPRESENTATIVES IN BELGRADE. AMBASSADOR REMINDED THEM THAT THE USG EXPECTED FULL COMPLIANCE WITH THE AGREEMENTS, AND SAID THERE WOULD BE A SWIFT RESPONSE IF THE GORS DOES NOT UPHOLD ITS COMMITMENTS. AMBASSADOR SAID THE USG EXPECTS PALE TO UPHOLD ITS COMMITMENT TO REMOVE POSTERS AND PORTRAITS OF FORMER RS PRESIDENT RADOVAN KARADZIC FROM PUBLIC DISPLAY, AND SAID THAT THE USG BELIEVES KARADZIC SHOULD BE REFERRED TO AS EITHER DR. KARADZIC OR EX-PRESIDENT KARADZIC, NOT PRESIDENT. AMBASSADOR TOLD BUHA AND KRAJISNIK THAT POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY OPPOSITION PARTIES IN COMING MONTHS MUST BE PERMITTED AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS IN THE PRE-ELECTION PERIOD OR ON SEPTEMBER 14.

4. (C) KRAJISNIK TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT THESE POINTS
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KRAJISNIK SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO CONTROL THE MASSES AND PREVENT THEM FROM DISPLAYING PICTURES OF KARADZIC. KRAJISNIK ACCUSED THE USG OF LOOKING FOR EXCUSES TO REIMPOSE SANCTIONS OR FURTHER PERSECUTE THE RS, SAYING IT WILL BE EASY TO FIND A PUBLIC PORTRAIT OF KARADZIC. THE GORS, HE CONTINUED, HAS FULFILLED ITS AGREEMENTS, WITH KARADZIC'S RESIGNATION AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA AND FROM HIS POSITION AS PRESIDENT OF THE SDS. KRAJISNIK SAID HE ONLY CALLED KARADZIC 'PRESIDENT KARADZIC' OUT OF HABIT, AS A MISTAKE. (NOTE: IN OUR MEETING, KRAJISNIK EXCLUSIVELY CALLED KARADZIC PRESIDENT.) HE SAID THE PORTRAITS OF KARADZIC AND REFERENCES TO HIM AS PRESIDENT WERE UNDERSTANDABLE, SINCE THE SDS HOPES TO WIN THE SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS. THE LEADERSHIP, HE SAID, WILL ADHERE TO THE AGREEMENTS, BUT CANNOT CONTROL THE PEOPLE.

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(UNSPECIFIED) BLACKMAIL. HE SAID AGREEMENTS REACHED IN BELGRADE CONCERNING KARADZIC HAD BEEN 'FINISHED', AND THAT HE AND HOLBROOKE HAD AGREED THERE WOULD BE NO MORE DISCUSSIONS OF KARADZIC. HE DISPUTED CHARGES OF WAR CRIMES WHICH HAVE BEEN DIRECTED TOWARDS THE FORMER RS PRESIDENT, AND BECAME VISIBLY UPSET. HE REPEATED HIS ASSERTION THAT THE GORS HAD COMPLETED ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN IN BELGRADE, AND THAT KARADZIC HAD ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL TO RESIGN: IT WAS NOT IMPOSED, KRAJISNIK SAID. THE USG SHOULD NOT WORRY ABOUT POSTERS, NOR ABOUT MISTAKES MADE REFERRING TO KARADZIC AS PRESIDENT.

6. (C) BUHA SAID AN ISSUE OF MAJOR CONCERN TO THE GORS WAS THE APPROPRIATE INTERLOCUTOR IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON QUESTIONS OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS. HE SAID THAT AFTER SPEAKING WITH BILDT, FROWICK CALLED BILDT'S STATMENTS 'DECEPTIONS'. AFTER REACHING AGREEMENTS WITH FROWICK, THEN HOLBROOKE ARRIVES ON THE SCENE, LEAVING GORS OFFICIALS WONDERING WHO, IN FACT, SPEAKS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. BUHA SAID THE GORS HAD BELIEVED BILDT WAS THE APPROPRIATE INTERLOCUTOR, BUT

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REMOVE POSTERS AND PORTRAITS OF FORMER RS PRESIDENT RADOVAN KARADZIC FROM PUBLIC DISPLAY, AND SAID THAT THE USG BELIEVES KARADZIC SHOULD BE REFERRED TO AS EITHER DR. KARADZIC OR EX-PRESIDENT KARADZIC, NOT PRESIDENT. AMBASSADOR TOLD BUHA AND KRAJISNIK THAT POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY OPPOSITION PARTIES IN COMING MONTHS MUST BE PERMITTED AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS IN THE PRE-ELECTION PERIOD OR ON SEPTEMBER 14.

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NO LONGER BELIEVES THAT TO BE THE CASE.

7. (C) BUHA SAID THE GORS DISAGREES WITH FROWICK'S DECISION TO ALLOW PARTIES REGISTERED IN THE FEDERATION TO STAND FOR ELECTION IN THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA. HE SAID THE GENEVA AND DAYTON AGREEMENTS LEAVE ELECTIONS SOLELY IN THE HANDS OF THE ENTITIES, AND CALLED FROWICK'S DECISION A VIOLATION OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS. BUHA SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FROWICK

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INTENDS TO POSTPONE ELECTIONS IN BRCKO, CALLING THIS DECISION ANOTHER VIOLATION OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS. AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THE COMPLICATED NATURE OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS, AND THE DISTRIBUTED AUTHORITY FOR DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE AGREEMENT, MADE A SINGLE POINT OF CONTACT IMPOSSIBLE, WHICH COULD SERVE TO ENCOURAGE CONFUSION.

8. (C) BUHA REPEATED HIS ASSERTION THAT THE GORS WILL RESPECT AGREEMENTS REACHED IN BELGRADE WITH HOLBROOKE. HE SAID FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WAS A GOOD IDEA IN A 'THEORETICAL AND MORAL SENSE', BUT THAT FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT REMAINS AN ILLUSION. HE ASSERTED THAT IF GROUPS OF RS SERBS WANT TO PASS INTO THE FEDERATION, OR VICE VERSA, THIS DEMANDS CONTROLS ON THE IEHL. BUHA DREW A PARALLEL WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN BORDERS, WHICH ARE GENERALLY OPEN, BUT HE SAID THAT IF 'HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE APPEAR AT A BORDER' IN WESTERN EUROPE, CONTROLS WILL BE QUICKLY INSTITUTED. HE ALSO SAID THAT REFUGEE RETURNS ARE A MORAL AND HUMAN IDEA, BUT THAT NECESSARY CONDITIONS MUST FIRST BE MET. HOUSING MUST BE PROVIDED, HE SAID, AND MECHANISMS MUST BE PUT INTO PLACE TO COORDINATE OCCUPIED HOUSING AND REFUGEES. HE URGED MECHANISMS FOR PROPERTY EXCHANGES AND COMPENSATION BE QUICKLY IMPLEMENTED, AS ENVISAGED BY DAYTON.

9. (C) BUHA SAID THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS DEALING WITH THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA LIKE PARENTS WOULD DEAL WITH TWO FIGHTING CHILDREN. THE

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT SIMPLY PRETEND THAT
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THERE WAS NOT A BRUTAL WAR IN BOSNIA, AND MUST TREAT
THE ENTITIES EQUALLY. BUHA ASSERTED THAT THE DAYTON
ACCORDS HAD IN FACT DIVIDED BOSNIA INTO TWO
ENTITIES. THE AMBASSADOR REMINDED BUHA AND
KRAJISNIK THAT BOSNIA, UNDER DAYTON, REMAINED AN
INTEGRAL STATE WITH TWO ENTITIES. KRAJISNIK SAID HE
AND BUHA ARE THE 'ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS' IN THE RS ON
THE DAYTON AGREEMENT. HE SAID IT WILL BE A GREAT
MISTAKE FOR ANYONE TO TRY AND MAKE THE GOBH MORE OR
LESS THAN ENVISAGED IN DAYTON. HE DESCRIBED HIS
CONCEPT OF POST-DAYTON BOSNIA AS TWO ENTITIES
SUPPORTING AND COVERED BY A THIN ROOF.

10. (C) KRAJISNIK SAID THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS
CONCERNING THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN BELGRADE WITH
HOLBROOKE HAD BEEN 'VERY DISRUPTIVE' AND HAD LED TO
A GREAT DEAL OF CONDEMNATION OF HIM AND BUHA. HE
WORRIED ABOUT PUBLIC MENTION OF THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL,
AND SAID THAT HE HAD AGREED WITH HOLBROOKE IN
BELGRADE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PUBLIC MENTION OF
THE HAGUE'S PROCEEDINGS AND THAT AFTER ELECTIONS,
THE TRIBUNAL WOULD SIMPLY GO AWAY. AMBASSADOR
EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE
BEEN REACHED, AND REMINDED KRAJISNIK THAT ONLY THE
TRIBUNAL COULD SPEAK FOR THE TRIBUNAL. HE ADDED
THAT THE USG DOES, AND WILL CONTINUE TO, SUPPORT THE
TRIBUNAL'S ACTIVITIES.

11. (C) KRAJISNIK RETURNED AGAIN TO THE ISSUE OF THE
KARADZIC POSTER IN THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING WINDOW,
SAYING THAT THIS COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A VIOLATION
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OF THE BELGRADE AGREEMENTS WITH HOLBROOKE AND
THEREFORE STOP THE ENTIRE PROCESS. HE SAID HE WOULD
IMMEDIATELY DRAFT A LETTER TO HOLBROOKE OUTLINING
BOTH THE WRITTEN AND ORAL AGREEMENTS REACHED IN
BELGRADE. KRAJISNIK SAID THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY SHOULD BE MORE CONCERNED WITH HARASSMENT

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OF SERBS IN SARAJEVO THAN PICTURES OF KARADZIC IN PALE. AMBASSADOR REMINDED KRAJISNIK OF CONTINUING USG INTEREST IN THE ISSUE OF SERBS IN SARAJEVO.

12. (C) KRAJISNIK SAID HE PERSONALLY DOUBTED THERE WILL BE ELECTIONS IN SEPTEMBER. HE SAID THAT IF THERE WAS SUCH CONCERN OVER A SINGLE PICTURE OF KARADZIC, EVEN A SMALL OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE WILL SERVE TO CANCEL THE ELECTIONS. KRAJISNIK ASSERTED THAT HE WAS MORE PESSIMISTIC ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTIONS THAN AT THE OUTSET OF OUR MEETING.

13. (C) BUHA EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN FLORENCE AND THE U.S.-LED EQUIP AND TRAIN PROGRAM. AMBASSADOR TOLD BUHA THAT THE USG BELIEVED THE EQUIP AND TRAIN PROGRAM WILL PROVIDE FOR GREATER STABILITY IN THE REGION. BUHA

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THEN BEGAN TO DISCUSS THE DIFFERENT POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS OF POST-DAYTON BOSNIA. AMBASSADOR ASKED IF THIS MEANT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WERE STILL COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATING IN POST-ELECTION CENTRAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS, AND BUHA SAID YES HE SAID

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THE BOSNIAN SERBS WILL PARTICIPATE, BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS AND THE DAYTON AGREEMENT.

14. (C) COMMENT: THIS WAS THE MOST UNPLEASANT
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MEETING WE HAVE EVER HAD WITH KRAJISNIK. HE WAS
ARGUMENTATIVE AND WILLFULLY MISINTERPRETED
AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS. BUHA WAS IN THE ROLE OF 'GOOD
COP', AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. IN A PRIVATE ASIDE WITH
THE AMBASSADOR AFTER THE MEETING, BUHA EXPLAINED THE
ALLEGED HOLBROOKE PROPOSAL FOR THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL TO
'VANISH' AFTER SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS.

15. (C) COMMENT CONTINUED: THE SEPARATIST GOALS OF
THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE BECOMING MORE CLEAR AS THE
DAYTON AGREEMENT AGES. THE THEME OF THE BOSNIAN
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AS A 'THIN ROOF' IS LONGSTANDING
RS RHETORIC, WHICH IS IN KEEPING WITH BUHA AND
KRAJISNIK'S MINIMALIST COMMITMENT TO DAYTON. WE
EXPECT THEM TO CONTINUE THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE
OBSTRUCTION TO THE AGREEMENT, CONCEDED ONLY THE
MINIMUM NECESSARY TO AVOID INTERNATIONAL
CONDEMNATION AND RETRIBUTION. END COMMENT.

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